

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00592 01 OF 02 251738Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----043082 251743Z /40

O 251620Z FEB 78

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7704

INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0592

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PDEV RH UK

SUBJECT: RHBDESIA: APPROACHES TO THE FRONTLINE AND PATRIOTIC FRONT

REF: STATE 049593

1. THE PRESENT MOMENT SEEMS TO PRESENT US WITH GREATER
DILEMMAS THAN WE HAVE FACED SINCE THE INITIATIVE BEGAN.
YET THE FLUIDITY OF THE SITUATION COULD PERHAPS OFFER
OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRESS IF WE ARE
SKILLFUL AND CT PROMPTLY.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00592 01 OF 02 251738Z

2. THE LIKELIHOOD OF A FRONTLINE MEETING, PERHAPS BEFORE
THE END OF THIS COMING WEEK, PRESENTS US WITH BOTH A
THREAT AND OPPORTUNITY WHICH WE CANNOT AFFORD TO IGNORE.

3. TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT, WE MUST
USE THE SITUATION
TO MOVE THE PARTIES TOWARDS EACH OTHER.THE BEST

WAY TO DO SO IS TO USE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS (AAP) AS A LEVER AGAINST THE SALISBURY TALKS AND THE INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS IN SALISBURY AS PRESSURE AGAINST THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

4. IN BOTH WE FACE THE CURIOUS DILEMMA OF WHAT WE WOULD DO IF WE WERE SUCCESSFUL. THE QUESTION OF WHAT HAPPENS IF THE PF WERE TO ACCEPT THE AAP IS NO EASIER THAN WHAT WE WOULD DO IF THE SALISBURY PARTICIPANTS ACCEPTED THE CRITERIA WE HAVE GIVEN SITHOLE AND ARE CONSIDERING GIVING SMITH THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS. WE CAN BE CONSOLED WITH THE THOUGHT THAT NEITHER SIDE IS LIKELY TO ACCEPT TOTALLY THE PROPOSALS WE ARE MAKING. THUS TO PROCEED WITH EITHER COURSE IS NOT AN IRREVOCABLE COMMITMENT ON OUR PART.

5. TO MAKE USE OF EACH OF THESE COURSES, HOWEVER, WE HAVE TO BE WILLING TO BE SEEN PUBLICLY TO BE ENGAGING IN NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT IT WILL TAKE REAL POLITICAL COURAGE FOR THE BRITISH, AS WELL AS FOR US, TO BE WILLING TO CONTINUE CONVERSATIONS WITH PF WHILE THE SALISBURY TALKS ARE CONTINUING. SIMILARLY, DISCUSSIONS WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA WILL NOT BE EASY IN TERMS OF OUR RELATIONS WITH THE PF AND THE FL.

6. THIS LEADS US TO RECOMMEND THE FOLLOWING POSTURE:
WE WILL ACCEPT ANY SOLUTION IN RHODESIA WHICH PROMISES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00592 01 OF 02 251738Z

A GENUINE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION THROUGH A PROCESS WHICH GUARANTEES THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERS UNDER IMPARTIAL CIRCUMSTANCES. THE AAP SO FAR SEEMS TO US TO PROVIDE THE BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR THIS RESULT AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLORE THAT POSSIBILITY. IF SOME OTHER DID AS WELL, WE WILL ALSO CONSIDER IT AND EXAMINE IT ON ITS MERITS.

7. THIS WOULD ARGUE FOR A PRESENTATION TO THE FL SOMEWHAT AS FOLLOWS:

--THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS IN SALISBURY HAS LED TO A NEW SITUATION WHICH WE CANNOT IGNORE. THE ACCEPTANCE BY SMITH OF ONE-MAN-ONE-VOTE HAS GIVEN MANY PEOPLE THE IMPRESSION (FALSE OR REAL, THAT HE HAS AT LAST ACCEPTED A GENUINE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY TO THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION.

--WE RECOGNIZE THAT IN FACT WE ARE A LONG WAY FROM SEEING AN AGREEMENT EMERGE FROM SALISBURY WHICH EMBODIES A

GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER. HOWEVER, YOU MUST UNDERSTAND THAT WE CANNOT PASS JUDGMENT UNTIL THE DETAILS OF AN AGREEMENT ARE AVAILABLE. POLITICAL FORCES IN OUR OWN COUNTRIES WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT IF WE DID. THEREFORE, WE WILL NEITHER CONDEMN NOR OFFER SUPPORT TO THE DISCUSSIONS THERE. WE HAVE TO BE FRANK IN SAYING, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL NOT REFUSE TO DISCUSS WITH PARTICIPANTS THE SUBSTANCE OF WHAT WE WOULD CONSIDER TO BE A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER.

--IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PF UNDER THE AAP WHICH WE STILL SUPPORT AND BELIEVE PROVIDES THE BEST BASIS FOR AN ULTIMATE SOLUTION. IF WE REACH AGREEMENT UNDER IT, WE WILL PROCEED TO TAKE STEPS LEADING TO ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00592 01 OF 02 251738Z

--AS A PROPOSAL WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO BACK, THE AAP MUST PROVIDE FOR CERTAIN THINGS, INCLUDING AN AGREED CEASEFIRE, ADEQUATE BRITISH AUTHORITY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, AND IMPARTIAL ELECTIONS IF THE PF IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS AN AGREEMENT BASED ON THESE PRINCIPLES, WE ARE QUITE WILLING TO CONTINUE TALKING TO THEM. HOWEVER, IN ALL FRANKNESS, WE HAVE TO SAY THAT THE POSITION ASSUMED BY THE PF TO DATE HAS NOT ADMITTED THESE PRINCIPLES.

--THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE THAT BEFORE ENTERING INTO TALKS AGAIN, WE SHOULD BE FAIRLY CERTAIN THAT WE CAN HAVE A POSITIVE RESULT. IT IS EVIDENT THAT ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS WITHOUT ISSUE WOULD STRENGTHEN SMITH'S HAND AND LEAVE US FURTHER FROM A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION THAN EVER.

8. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THIS STRONG MEDICIENE FOR THE FL AND NIGERIA, AND IN SOME PLACES WILL NOT BE WELL RECEIVED. IF IT IS MATCHED WITH A GENUINE WILLINGNESS TO SIT DOWN WITH THE PF, HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE RECOGNIZED AS BEING A FRANK POSITION AND ONE THAT COULD MOVE US FORWARD TOWARDS AGREEMENT. IT SEEMS TO US BEST DESIGNED TO USE THE LEVERAGE WHICH THE SALISBURY TALKS PROVIDE FOR US.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00592 02 OF 02 251742Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----043110 251747Z /40

O 251625Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7705
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0592

EXDIS

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

USUN FOR AMB YOUNG

9. AS MAPUTO HAS REPORTED, NKOMO IS NOW IN MOZAMBIQUE CONSULTING WITH MUGABE. WE BELIEVE THEY ARE COORDINATING THEIR POSITIONS TOWARDS THE SALISBURY CONVERSATIONS, PREPARING FOR THE FL MEETING, DISCUSSING THE PERENNIAL PROBLEM OF UNITY, AND CONSIDERING MILITARY ACTIONS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THEY ARE IN A HURRY TO ENTER INTO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH US. THEY WANT US TO REQUEST A FURTHER MEETING WITH THEM--HAVING CLAIMED THAT WE WERE NOT SERIOUS ABOUT OUR INVITATION FOR THE 10TH OF FEBRUARY. IN OUR VIEW HERE, WE DO NOT NEED TO BE IN A HURRY TO CONTACT THE PF AGAIN, AT LEAST BEFORE THE FL MEETING. THERE IS SOMETHING

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00592 02 OF 02 251742Z

TO BE SAID FOR THEIR DIGESTING THE POSITION WE GIVE THE FL. AT LEAST WE SHOULD WAIT UNTIL THEY CONTACT US, INDICATING, AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, THAT THE SHOE IS ON THEIR FOOT. WE INVITED THEM TO THE 10TH AND THEY TURNED US DOWN. THE NEXT MOVE, THEREFORE, IS UP TO THEM.

10. WE BELIEVE THAT AN APPROACH SUCH AS THAT OUTLINED ABOVE IMPLIES A WILLINGNESS ON OUR PART TO MEET WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA. IN OUR VIEW HERE, WE SHOULD NOT LEAVE

THIS TO THE BRITISH. RAY SEITZ' PRESENCE IN THE CONVERSATIONS
WITH WITHOLE WAS A GOOD THING AND WE SHOULD BE WILLING TO
ADMIT THAT WE ARE DISCUSSING WITH THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS
WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SALISBURY, AS WELL AS THE AAP,
EVEN THOUGH THIS WILL BE CRIRICIZED BY THE PF, THE FL AND
NIGERIA. AGAIN IT CAN BE BALANCED BY OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR
THE AAP AND
WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH THE PF.

11. TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, WE HAVE TO BE WILLING EITHER
TO MEET WITH BOTH OR NEITHER OF THE PARTIES IF THE BRITISH
ARE WILLING TO MEET WITH SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA, IN OUR VIEW
THEY WOULD BE MAKING A SERIOUS MISTAKE NOT TO BE WILLING
ALSO TO TALK PUBLICLY TO THE PF. THE SAME SHOULD GO FOR US.
LOW

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 feb 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978LUSAKA00592
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780088-0409
Format: TEL
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780213/aaaaakhp.tel
Line Count: 239
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 0ca2b5cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 STATE 49593
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3476717
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHBDESIA: APPROACHES TO THE FRONTLINE AND PATRIOTIC FRONT
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, RH, UK, MZ, TZ, AO, BC, ZA
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/0ca2b5cf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014